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ABSTRACT

Depiction of the problem of children living in the streets in third world countries emphasizes the extent to which they are victims (as statistics have shown them as numbers on the streets or killed by "death squads") or victimizers who affect an economy (e.g., by robbing tourists). Both descriptions suggest that one-dimensional portrait of the street kid as a burden to society (Campos Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995). This ethnographic study explored and described the life experiences of a purposive sampling of the kids on the streets (kids temporarily on the streets) as opposed to street kids (kids permanently in the streets) of Fortaleza, Ceara, Brazil with regard to their family, school, peers, community experiences, and self-concept. The perceptions of the participants concerning their life experiences as kids on the streets of Fortaleza provided the information for this investigation. Such perceptions were collected through interviews and by examining pictures taken by them to answer the question "Who are you?" [Ziller's (1990) technique of autophotography.] Qualitatively analyzed (using triangulation method), the content form the interview and pictures of 20 kids on the streets who were participating in a preventive program in Fortaleza suggested impressions of their physical environment (including images of their poverty, street life, lack of boundaries); their social environment (implicating the collectivism of their culture and views of parents); and humanizing images of their occupational, sexual, and personal identities. (Author)

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An ethnographic study of the kids on the streets of Fortaleza, Brazil: Family, school, peer and community life, self-concept

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ABSTRACT

Depiction of the problem of children living in the streets in third world countries emphasizes the extent to which they are victims (as statistics have shown them as numbers on the streets or killed by "death squads") or victimizers who affect an economy (e.g., by robbing tourists). Both descriptions suggest the one dimensional portrait of the street kid as a burden to society (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995). This ethnographic study explored and described the life experiences of a purposive sampling of the kids on the streets (kids temporarily on the streets) as opposed to street kids (kids permanently in the streets) of Fortaleza, Ceará, Brazil with regard to their family, school, peers, community experiences and the notion of their self-concept. The perceptions of the participants concerning their life experiences as kids on the streets of Fortaleza provided the information for this investigation. Such perceptions were collected through interviews and by examining pictures taken by them to answer the question "Who are you?" [Ziller's (1990) technique of autophotography]. Qualitatively analyzed (using triangulation method), the content from the interviews and pictures of 20 kids on the streets who were participating in a preventive program in Fortaleza suggested impressions of their physical environment (including images of their poverty, street life, lack of boundaries); their social environment (implicating the collectivism of their culture and views of parents); and humanizing images of their occupational, sexual, and personal identities.

Children who live or work on the street represent a growing phenomenon worldwide. They are at considerable risk for physical endangerment, sexually transmitted diseases, and personal victimization (Lusk, 1989; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992; Raffaelli, Campos, Merritt et al., 1993). They commonly come from single-parent homes where there are multiple problems including socioeconomic disadvantage, high levels of interpersonal conflict, substance abuse, lack of nutritional and health care provisions, overcrowding, frequent relocation, and behavioral, developmental, and educational problems (de Oliveira, et al., 1992; Shane, 1989). The magnitude of these problems has been underscored by staggering, albeit widely varying, prevalence statistics [e.g., 25 to 50 million street children in Latin America, the region with the greatest problem (Peralta, 1992)].

It is often assumed that such children and their families have severed connections. However, the great majority of street children, in Latin America at least, have maintained a link to their families (Lusk, 1989), often returning home most nights per week.

Children and adolescents roaming the streets of Brazil are described with one of the two phrases: the street kid (menino da rua) and the kid on the street (menino na rua). In Portuguese, da rua is used as an adjective to connote a derogatory comment. It indicates children who make the streets home. Na rua, the latter one, is utilized as an adverb of place. These are children and adolescents who return to their families periodically to sleep, share their resources, and meet other needs (Alves-Mazzotti, 1994; Aptekar, 1989; Connolly, 1990). Some may eventually become street kids and enter a life of crime. Other, however, are on the streets to make a living either from selling candies, fruits, local newspapers, or begging, or washing cars, trading any kind of work fro food or money (Monteiro, 1994). They are all, nevertheless, roaming the streets. The mere fact of being on the streets, ill-clothed and ill-fed, makes them look, without distinction like suspected criminals, or potential ones, in the eyes of many çivilian and military police officers. The ones who make the street their home represent only 5-20% of the total population of such children (Lusk, 1989). Regardless of definition, they, street kids and kids on the streets, may be susceptible to arbitrary treatment based on stereotypes and to some extent on chance. Arbitrary treatment, as described by the 1991 Amnesty International Report, may range from severe beatings, torture to being killed. Over 450 children and adolescents, most with no previous criminal records, were killed by death squads or by police officers, upon the request of hotel managers, shop owners in 1989 alone, in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Recife (Latin American Regional Reports- Brazil, September, 1990).

The kids on the streets in Brazil have been more likely to respond to social and preventive programs which were developed within a community oriented approach, allowing the involvement of families as well as the local community (personal conversation, Dr. Adalberto de Paula Barreto, June 24, 1993). The street kids, on the other hand, are referred to correctional departments to attend short term intervention programs or are institutionalized in centers which specialize in handling juvenile delinquency. The profiles of street kids and juvenile delinquents are very similar. Apparently many kids on the streets have become street kids, and subsequently, juvenile delinquents.

If the state of being a kid on the street (menino na rua) indeed preceeds the state of being a street kid (menino da rua), it is critical to research more extensively what their lives are like. It is worthwhile to note a 500% increase in research on "street kids", "street youth" or "street children" from only 1 entry in the PsycLIT data base during 1974-78 to 58 between 1987-94 (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995). Very little is known, however, about the kids on the streets and the extent of their likelihood of becoming street kids. Even this magnitude of research effort is insufficient to the task of understanding that may be needed to impact the problem (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

Rather than presenting statistics, this paper takes a qualitative approach, drawing on ethnographic methods. It attempts to communicate some of the reality of street life through their statements made in interviews conducted with kids on the streets in the Pirambu area of Fortaleza as well as through pictures taken by the interviewees.

METHODS

Participants and the research setting

Twenty youngsters ranging in age from 10-15 years (10 of each gender) were randomly selected from among those registered with Projeto Quatro Varas. The project, serving a larger group of kids on the streets aged 8-18 years, is located in Pirambu, a slum district on the outskirts of the Fortaleza metropolitan area, a city of 1.7 million people. Although 13 other children had been invited to participate, 9 of these failed to show up and 4 did not receive parental consent. Parental and child consent were obtained for the participation of the remaining 20 children. Names of the participants have been changed to protect their anonymity. Of the 20, 14 could be characterized as of mixed racial heritage, 3 as black, and 3 as white.

The Quatro Varas section of Pirambu has no consistent water and sewage systems as well as unreliable electricity. Typically families of 5 to 11 persons reside in one or two dwellings, using movable hammocks for beds. Water is obtained from a public faucet ("chafariz") for filling buckets; the chafariz also serves as a meeting place.

Projeto Quatro Varas means four sticks, in English. The name refers to a fable taught to children about a father who advised his sons to consider how much harder it is to break four sticks secured together than four individual sticks (i.e., strength in numbers and in each other). Projeto Quatro Varas is a community development project that encourages the local children and adolescents in socially useful rather than delinquent activities. Attendance is not required but there is work to be done which provides for the up-keep of the project and a way to be a participating member of the existing programs. The programs include: a) selling in the streets of the city natural medicines made at Projeto Quatro Varas; b) watering and taking care of the medicinal plants; c) sewing classes and craft activities, like baskets with woven palm leaves, art items. The project was initiated in 1987 by a university professor of anthropology and psychiatry. By philosophy, the project is self-directed and self-maintaining. It has several other purposes (e.g., legal assistance) for adults in Quatro Varas.

About half of the participants were involved in the Quatro Varas program of growing and selling herbs, the other half came from a "social reintegration" program that assisted youngsters to cope with difficulties with family or police and prepare to obtain employment. The latter group tended to be the older participants (typically the 14 and 15 year old), several could be considered street children rather than kids on the streets.

Procedure

The ethnographic interview and the autophotographic essay were the two components of a qualitative study of these kids on the streets. The senior author, a native of Fortaleza, received the support of the Quatro Varas program director and a community leader. This researcher spent approximately 400 hours with the children during May and June of 1993, serving as a participant-observer of the children's agricultural, sales, craft making, and other group activities. She also kept field notes about her observations (Monteiro, 1994).

Ethnography, as a modality of qualitative research, was defined by Fetterman (1979) as a study of a group o a culture in its natural setting. More than studying people, the ethnographer learns from people (Spradley, 1979). Field notes are a source of data in ethnography that consist primarily of information recorded by the investigator from interviews and daily observations. All additional information relevant to the culture studied such as official documents, other people's records and personal views, and a personal journal of the ethnographer reporting reactions, feelings, incidents, are important in later stage of data analysis. Spradley (1979) called this note keeping process, "the place to think on paper" about the culture under consideration.

The autophotographic essay, proposed by Ziller(1990), has a special role in ethnographic study and are most useful in documenting field notes. Ziller used photographic essays as means to increase understanding of ourselves and significant others within an environmental setting. Photographic techniques have the potential of creating visual images that enhance the meaning of one's words describing themselves. Research conducted using photographic essay methods has focused on what these pictures tell us about who the pictures takers are (Dollinger & Clancy, 1993; Ziller, 1990; Ziller, Vera & DeSantoya, 1989).

The questions in the ethnographic interview followed a topical outline in order to ensure that the specifics for this study were obtained. Topics focused on family life, school experiences, peer and community group, and a sense of self-concept. After the interviews, each child was given a disposable camera and shown how to use it by the researcher. Based on Ziller's (1990), participants were invited to take about 10 photographs depicting "who you are". When developed, each child received a set of his or her photos and was invited to comment on the content and meaning of each photo.

Method of analysis

All interviews were tape recorded and type transcripts were produced. They were entered on an IBM text formatter enabling all the interviews to be analyzed by the ETHNOGRAPHY version 3.0. The first step was to place a code for specific segments in order to identify contents. The coded segments are then, clustered based on their similarities. Once clustered, the researcher can compare and contrast these segments and move towards making sense of the recurrence of emergent patterns. It is these patterns which are discussed as results of this study.

The photographic essays were analyzed, first, with a categorical content analysis scheme, which afforded the researcher a more detailed knowledge of the data set. This scheme, based on that of Dollinger and Clancy (1993) and codes used by Ziller (1990), coded for 49 discrete categories under the three superordinate categories of interpersonal codes (e.g., peers), possessions, activities, and interests (e.g., achievements, music) and special themes in this sample (e.g., photos of the Projeto Quatro Varas). These data are presently used for descriptive purposes; statistics reported had at least .90 interrater reliability (Pearson r). After the initial discrete coding, a qualitative approach was taken by viewing the photo essays as a single case study, and considering what the participants were communicating intentionally or unintentionally via their photos. In delimiting or selecting what were the most important meanings, photos regarded as most "telling" and representative were grouped by emerging content themes (Monteiro & Dolllinger, 1995).

Through the triangulation method, the analysis of these themes serves as a source of corroboration for some of the findings of the ethnographic interviews.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on what Table 1 shows as categories emergent from the Family life topic, thirteen of the 20 children came from father-absent homes (category 2), although a stepfather was present in 8 of these (category 11). Fathers who were present had occupations like truck driver, machine operator, and watchman (category 4). Most mothers were unemployed; those with jobs worked as maids, janitors, or seamstresses (category 8). When triangulating this information with the photos themes, perhaps the most diverse set of qualitative impressions was created for images of mothers and fathers. Quantitatively, photos of parents were moderately common, appearing in 24% of the photos and grandparents appeared in another 5% of the photos. Although the use of intergenerational photos can offer important meanings about the photographer (Dollinger & Clancy, 1993), the relative rate of inclusion of parents is less noteworthy than the qualitative images of parents that were evident. Several photos implied negative or ambivalent feelings in the youngster. In addition of noting fathers absent from the photos, the presence of surrogate "stepfathers" was common. Neja, 11, had a family picture that did not include the father (who was absent). She commented on the neurological damage that her brother has suffered due to physical abuse by this man. Acdia, 14, took some risk in depicting her mother and the mother's lesbian lover in bed and commented, "I don't have much to say about this picture; yes, I took it." Lani, 15, living with her girlfriends' family, did tale one photo of her

mother at the mother's small store. The photo is best described as that of a person with no concern for social propriety in dress (while tending her store); her posture and clothing convey the contradictory messages of sexual provocation and, simultaneously, repulsion. Overall, the photo conveys the woman's lack of self-respect and resignation to a harsh life. Much more than ambivalence, some photos also suggested the pride and respect with which some parents are held by the kid on the street. Mses included a photo of himself and his father. He stated that this was done to show how he feels about his father. Ktia took a photo with a wall-hanging as background because she felt the saying well-expresed her feelings. In English the saying translates to: "Mother, you are the best page that fate has put in the book of my life." Also showing pride in one's ancestor was the photo-within-a-photo of a deceased grandmother hanging on the wall taken by Moreno (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

Other noteworthy images of parents conveyed respect but also implied that the parents were respected more widely in the community for special roles or activities they perform. One example is a picture of Vida, 12, with his elderly father, a retired firefighter. The boy stands holding a certificate of heroism awarded to the father for saving a life. The father's burns were also evident in this photo. Ziene, 15, photographed her older sister, a self-employed seamstress who "works her bones off." This woman was described as "dying of happiness" because she had sold all of the undergarments which she'd made. A very dramatic instance of this point were the photos of Vdri, 13, whose parents are religious ministers of Candomblé. The mother was depicted as a healer who prays over newborn or sick children; the father was shown as a minister standing before an altar/shrine in a corner of their home (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

Extended family theme emerged spontaneously in the interviews, when the participants were asked about the sizes of their families. For this sample, families living in the houses, which have at most two-rooms, ranged from four in the house (Neja's family) to thirteen (Wgn's family). Wgn, 14, stated that, "it gets crowded but everybody fits in..." Vdri, 13, has a nephew living with the family and stated that he is " the son of my sister with a man who came here just to impregnate my sister... she lives with us, of course." As home offers very little physical space, little room is left for a sense of privacy.

Implicit in some photos was the notion that life at home makes one feel crowded. This was most explicitly shown by a photo of a family of 11 that shared a two-room home. Several youngsters depicted a reaction to this crowding but did so in opposite ways. Wgn, 14, photographed his friends on the street and commented "the streets are where we have space." There were also visual representations that in order to experience some inner peace and privacy, they went to public places. Moreno, 15, presented himself sitting on the roof of his house surrounded by the leaves and limbs of trees, conveying his occasional need "to get above it all." This is the refuge when family conflicts occur. In many of the children's photo essays, the lack of boundaries was also shown inadvertently by photos of buildings and homes without doors.

Category 18 indicates the number of statements that the participants made about the role they have in their families. Although still in their early teens, a number of these youngsters have daily responsibilities that are quite adult-like, prompting them to feel "grown up." Erln, 13, mentioned quite often her new role of being the partner of a 17-year old boy. In her photos, she illustrated this

theme showing her as a common-law "wife" living with her boyfriend and several younger children. She feels like the woman of the house. Chrl, 11, related in her interview that she had to drop out of school to take care of her little sister. In her photos, she usually included her infant sibling with her in the pictures, because she takes care of this child most of the time. She included a photo-within-a-photo showing herself beneath a picture of herself at about age 4. She commented, "that's when I was little and now I am all grown up." About her infant sister she makes the telling remark in her interview that, when she was little she wanted but never received a doll; now with an infant sister to care for she has the doll she always wanted (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

Based on what Table 2 shows as categories emergent from the school experiences. Seven participants, at the time of this interview, dropped out of school. Another seven were out of school but decided to return. The remaining 6 have never been dropouts. The implications of dropping out of school became clearer when it was found that 18 out of 20 participants were behind in their school years (category 20). This is also related to the following category, school dysfunctions. All participants who were or have been out of school had school dysfunctions. That is, they had problems such as writing and not being able to read what they wrote, or they knew how to add during their selling activities on the streets but they didn't know how to perform the same mathematical operations on a piece of paper in school. Enldo characterized this dysfunction saying that, "I learned a lot in school but I forgot it all. I learned how to write my name but I forgot it now." Words, signs, short sentences and a variety of visual distractions are all over the streets. Youngsters see them but they don't write what they read. It is likely that the reading is mechanical and immediately associated with landmarks. In the classroom setting, the pace of reading is slower, may not be related to getting along, and visual cues of the streets are not likely to appear. An overall feeling of liking school emerged despite the aforementioned difficulties. In the interviews, they said they like school because of the snacks, the teacher, the homework assignments, the classmates. in talking about the importance of school (category 27), they seemed to agree that school is important because, " it helps you to be somebody in life", as many of the boys said. Or school has the social function "to teach you to be polite, to have good manners." In most of all the statements, references to an ideal, abstract school was found. There was not a vision of real school, the one that could justify its link to the work or to the future. They seemed to be aware that all of them were behind in their school years and how hard it could be to get "a decent job without good education." Cris, Vdri, Chrl, Vgna said that "with faith in God, we will study hard and will get there."

It is noteworthy to observe that there is no pictures of books or school supplies. The six participants who were in school in the time of this study were the ones who took pictures of school (the buidling, the classroom). Lani, a runaway living with a friend's family, photographed a saying on the wall at school: "In the eyes of a child, we read the hope of a peaceful world." (This quote was part of the environment and selected by the children rather than being created for the photo essay).

Based on what Table 3 shows as categories emergent from Projeto Quatro Varas. In category 30, the male participants' answers were related to their selling activities on the streets. They all seemed to be pleased with the possibility of making some money from these learning experiences on the streets. Categories 31 and 32 indicated in their statements that if the streets are the school of life,

Quatro Varas validated reasons for learning and could provide some organization to the lessons they learned from school of life. In summary, Projeto Quatro Varas could be seen as a successful example of how kids on the streets can benefit from a program that takes place in their natural environment.

In several ways, the kids on the streets proved to be quite philosophical. First and foremost, 14 of the 20 took photos of some symbols of Quatro Varas to indicate their belief in the program's values. Rgrio portrayed himself and Vida with their sales kits holding up a sample of the herbal medicine they would attempt to sell. Enldo had the back of his shirt photographed depicting the Quatro Varas insignia. Unfortunately, he did not live up to the program's philosophy, running away with some of the program's profits shortly after he took part in this study. Ziene, a 15 year old participant who ran away from home and has been involved with drugs, said that Quatro Varas is the only thing which is in one piece in her life (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

Based on Table 4, the categories indicate patterns which emerged from the answers about the questions related to their relationship[with their intimate social group. The interesting point of their answers was related tot he sociometric quality of their choices. Mnasc, for example, was identified as a friend by a number of the male participants and by two girls, Lani and Acdia. He, however, did not identify those same people as his friends. He also claimed that, "these days you can not trust even the buttons of the shirt you are wearing." He was perceived by his peers as a victim of police brutality. He seems to be a candidate for leading a gang. In contrast, Ktia was chosen by 7 out of the 10 female participants and the two close friends Ktia chose, also chose Ktia. There was mutuality. Mutuality of friendships enhances the sociometric quality of the leadership (Moreno, 1956). So, Ktia is more likely to be a community leader if she continues to be looked up by her peers and maintains the mutuality of attractions.

The most frequently coded category in this qualitative analysis was photos of peers or like-aged children (59% of photos). Also frequently coded were categories of people touching (35%), and self with others where the self is smiling (34%). Qualitatively, these youngsters' social connection to their peers was evident in a number of striking ways. A number of participants made explicit reference to taking pictures to represent their friendship or their "togetherness." MNasc, 15, had no pictures of himself in his photo essay but several of his friends. commented that "the group is extremely important to me." Ziene implied that her important connection was to the entire Quatro Varas program, remarking that it "is the only thing in one piece" (in her life). Vida showed how the program has taught him the value of prosocial concerns: he ended his photo essays with a picture of himself contributing part of his earnings back to the Quatro Varas program for a collective snack (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

A final and telling example of the social connectedness of these children was the fact that 5 of them chose to take and include a photo of the researcher in their photo set in order to remember her. Adria, very close to being a street kid, decided to hug the researcher as they posed for the photo. Clearly their participation in the research was a more warmly emotional experience than that engendered by usual questionnaire methods of data collection (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995). It also suggests something about the collectivist orientation of this culture (Bontempo, Lobel & Triandis, 1990; Dollinger, Molina & Monteiro, 1994).

Table 5 shows themes that emerged from the interview content as it related to self-concept. Most of the participants have thought about their future but do not have much hope to fulfilling their dreams. Vida said he would want to be a fireman just like his father, of whom he was proud. Mses could not say much about his plans for his future, ".. what for? Let's say I want to be something, and I may end up being a beggar." Acdia, who wanted to be a stewardess said, " To dream is only what I can do. It helps to keep life going." Mca wants to be a secretary and that how she envisioned her life 10 years from now. The importance of having hopes and plans for their futures seemed valuable for the kids on the streets. Most likely these youngsters will face many difficulties. They may endure them and succeed or they may not and choose the street life. Nevertheless, having the projections about their lives can be a preventive factor when facing the possibility of becoming street kids.

Many of the participants commented on and devised photos relevant to their hoped-for future activities. Vgna hopes to be a kind of social worker, like her mother, in order to improve the conditions of street kids. Mca had a photo taken of herself working at a desk; she studies harder in view of her goal of becoming a secretary. Ktia, one of the youngsters performing at grade level, has a higher occupational goal - to become an archaeologist. She depicted this image by standing at the top of a sand dune with foot steps in the sand to represent lives of the past buried in the soil. Rgio has a more immediate goal for himself: to become a licensed driver, illustrated by a photo of himself behind the steering wheel of an old car. Vida had the researcher to follow along one day while he and his friends walked to the city, pushing their way through crowded streets to sell their herbal medicines. To one of these photos he gave the caption, "hurry up. we have to keep going! " And to a photo of his making a sale to a skeptical customer, he commented an enthusiastic "Oba!" (Alright!) His comments suggested that he possesses the initiative and industrious spirit to accomplish his goals (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

More troubling was an image of a friend of Ziene shown in a provocative pose on the street late at night. The girl described her friend as willing to do "anything" to get to the United States, making a clear reference to a willingness to prostitute herself to reach this goal (Monteiro & Dollinger, 1995).

CONCLUSIONS

The kids on the streets long for a home and a family life. Some of them actually have them--bits and pieces of a home. Others struggle with the life they have and the one they wish for; still, others seek for an alternative mother and a few ran away from home, making the streets most likely the home substitute. Fathers were mostly absent from the household and mothers take the responsibility to raise the children. Some of these children are taking adult-like roles to help their mothers to supplement the family income.

The perceptions of school of the kid on the street revealed a regular attendance that is no consonant with their lives. School is perceived as the setting where they learn good manners and learn how to be someone in life. Most have been school drop outs and when they try to go back to school, do not seem to fit. They, nevertheless, long to be in school, be like other kids and seem to be willing to accept responsibilities as required by the school.

Projeto Quatro Varas is perceived as the setting where they can play, socialize, relive their childhood memories. It is also their opportunity to make the need for helping with the family income feasible. The participants seem to benefit from the programs of the project satisfactorily.

Peers and social groups are formed on the basis of friendship. There is a strong sense of collectivism in the way they relate to their peers. This was shown in their work in the streets, at school, and their leisure activities. A few, however, gain prominence through daring actions and a strong personality.

Perceptions of self revealed these youngsters showing preoccupation about their families. They have aspirations and dreams for their lives but are consumed by how to endure in their hopes, so they will survive to fulfill them. Most do not see themselves becoming street kids because they are attached to traditional family values and loyalties. Family, school, Quatro Varas and peers are factors that may prevent them from becoming street kids.

The autophotographic essays of these 20 kids on the streets and, hopefully, the descriptions of them, serve to humanize a group that is often portrayed in dehumanizing and incomprehensibly large statistics or in one-dimensional shocking qualitative description as victims or victimizers.

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Table 1. Frequency of participants' answers related to the 18 coded segments which comprise the category of family (Q1).

No.	Name	Sex	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17F	17S	18
1	Enido	M	13	4G/1H	A+	X	X	X	A	42	ret	3	2	4	5	0	1	1	1	1	0	2
2	Cris	M	13	4G	A	?	Wtman	3	P	?	houwife	6	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	1
3	Rgrio	M	15	1H	P	?	Unblyer	3	P	?	seamstss	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
4	Morenc	M	15	0	A+	?	X	X	P	43	ret	4	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	0
5	MNasc	M	15	0	P	53	Tdrver	1	P	55	houwife	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	1
6	Rogrio	M	13	0	A	?	?	2	P	43	houwife	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	1
7	Mses	M	13	0	P	42	Mopetor	2	P	39	houwife	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
8	Vdri	M	13	2G	P	55	ret	6	P	59	hwife+hle	1	2	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	5
9	Wgn	M	14	0	A+	X	X	X	P	46	houwife	0	3	6	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1
10	Vida	M	12	0	P	62	ret	1	P	37	cmsson	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	3
11	Ktia	F	14	1G	A	35	optician	2	P	30	unmaid	5	1	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	1	1
12	Mca	F	12	0	P	37	unblyer	3	P	32	jantor	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
13	Chrl	F	11	2G	A	?	X	1	P	38	seamtss	2	4	5	7	0	1	1	2	1	1	2
14	Lani	F	15	0	P	?	finship	1	P	'Old'	houwife	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
15	Neja	F	11	0	A	?	X	3	P	49	maid	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1
16	Erin	F	13	0	A	?	X	0	A	?	?	2	2	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	15
17	Acdia	F	14	0	A	?	orseller	1	P	30	seamstss	4	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	0
18	Ziene	F	15	0	A	?	X	0	P	56	seamstss	5	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	4	1
19	Vgna	F	12	0	A	?	X	1	P	'Old'	lawyer	4	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	0	0	2
20	Adria	F	13	0	A	?	X	0	P	39	janitor	6	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

Categories of coded segments (Q1 Family)

1 Feelings about place of origin (Goodness-G- and Hardships-H- from the hinterlands)
0 - from Fortaleza
2 Father (Present or Absent) A+ deceased
3 Age ?=don't know X=no age to report
4 Father's Occupation
X=doesn't work; wtman=watchman; unblyer=unemployed bricklayer; tdrver= truck driver; ?=don't know
Mopetor=machine operator; ret=retired; finship=finish up ships; orseller=orange seller
5 Perception as a father X=father deceased 0=never met father
6 Mother (Present or Absent)
7 Age ?=don't know
8 Mother's Occupation
ret=retired; houwife=housewife; seamstss=seamstress
hwife +hler=housewife +healer; cmsson=selling(paid by commision); unmaid=unemployed maid
9 Perception as a mother
10 Extended family
11 Stepmother/stepfather
12 Physical abuse/witnessing domestic violence/idea of abuse
13 Psychosomatization
14 Likes in the family
15 Dislike in the family
16 Childhood memories
17F Favorite family experiences
17S Sad family experiences
18 Role in the family (providers, rescuers, adultlike responsibility)

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Table 2. Frequency of coded segments, 19-29, which comprise the category of School (Q2).

No.	Name	19is	19was	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1	Enldo	3	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	0
2	Cris	0	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	5	0	0
3	Rgrio	0	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
4	Moreno	3	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	0
5	MNasc	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	2	0	0
6	Rogrio	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
7	Mses	0	2	1	0	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
8	Vdri	0	3	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	0
9	Wgn	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	2	0	1
10	Vida	3	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
11	Ktia	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0
12	Mca	0	2	1	0	3	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
13	Chrl	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
14	Lani	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
15	Neja	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
16	Erln	0	1	1	0	3	2	1	1	1	1	0	0
17	Acdia	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
18	Ziene	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	2	0	1	0	1
19	Vgna	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
20	Adria	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

Categories of coded segments (Q2 School)

19 School dropout (is or was)
20 Disparity between chronological age and school age
21 School dysfunctions
22 Likes about school
23 Angry about school
24 Makes friends in school
25 Makes friends outside of school
26 Skill not learned in school
27 Importance of school
28 Targeted to be cheated (due to early school dropping out)
29 Skipped classes when attending school

Table 3. Frequency of coded segments, 30-33,
which comprise the category of projeto Quatro Varas (Q3)

No.	Name	30	31	32	33
1	Enldo	2	1	1	1
2	Cris	1	1	1	0
3	Rgrio	1	0	0	1
4	Moreno	1	1	1	1
5	MNasc	4	1	1	1
6	Rogrio	1	1	1	1
7	Mses	1	1	1	1
8	Vdri	2	1	1	1
9	Wgn	1	0	0	1
10	Vida	1	1	1	1
11	Ktia	1	1	1	1
12	Mca	1	0	1	1
13	Chrl	1	1	1	1
14	Lani	1	1	1	1
15	Neja	1	1	1	1
16	Erln	1	0	1	0
17	Acdia	0	1	1	1
18	Ziene	1	1	1	1
19	Vgna	3	1	1	1
20	Adria	1	1	1	0

Categories of coded segments (Q3 Quatro Varas)

30 Learning in Quatro Varas
31 Differences between Quatro Varas and home 0=could not say
32 Differences between Quatro Varas and school 0=could not say
33 Recruitment to Quatro Varas

Table 4. Frequency of coded segments, 34-37, which comprise the category of social group (Q4)

No.	Name	34	35	36	37
1	Enldo	7	1	1	1
2	Cris	1	1	1	0
3	Rgrio	1	1	1	1
4	Morenc	5	1	1	0
5	MNasc	1	1	0	0
6	Rogrio	4	1	1	1
7	Mses	1	1	0	1
8	Vdri	2	1	1	1
9	Wgn	4	1	1	1
10	Vida	4	1	1	2
11	Ktia	2	1	1	1
12	Mca	2	0	2	2
13	Chrl	9	0	1	1
14	Lani	0	0	0	0
15	Neja	5	0	1	1
16	Erln	1	0	1	1
17	Acdia	5	1	1	0
18	Ziene	3	0	1	0
19	Vgna	many	1	1	1
20	Adria	3	1	1	1

Categories of coded segments (Q4 Social Group)

34 number of close friends

35 Difference between 'friend' and 'close friend.'

36 Definition of close friend

37 Factors contributing to group cohesion

Table 5. Frequency of coded segments,38-46,
which comprise the category of self-concept (Q5)

No.	Name	38	39	40	41	42	43	43.1	43.2	43.3	43.4	44	45	46
1	Enldo	5	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
2	Cris	0	1	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
3	Rgrio	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
4	Morenc	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
5	MNasc	0	1	5	4	1	2	0	2	1	5	2	1	0
6	Rogrio	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
7	Mses	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
8	Vdri	0	1	1	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
9	Wgn	0	1	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
10	Vida	3	1	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	1
11	Ktia	0	1	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1
12	Mca	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
13	Chrl	1	0	1	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
14	Lani	2	1	2	1	1	0	3	0	0	3	1	1	0
15	Neja	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
16	Erln	0	0	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
17	Acdia	2	1	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
18	Ziene	0	1	3	2	0	4	1	4	1	1	2	1	0
19	Vgna	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
20	Adria	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	0

Categories of coded segments self-concept (Q5)

38 Hopes
39 Life as a soap opera 0=could not say
40 Self perception
41 Plans for their future
42 Differences between menino na rua / menino da rua
43 Risk factors contributing to the transition from na rua to da rua
- 43.1 Stealing
- 43.2 Drug trouble
- 43.3 Drug and gang trouble
- 43.4 Police trouble

44 Self in relation to these differences or transitional factors
45 Projection of life 10 years from now
46 Freedom/space on the streets